1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

other scavengers. Nowadays, all hunting activities are carried on illegally with the risk of being punished if caught by the police.

Weapons are the bow and poisoned arrows carried in a quiver. Knives are used to skin game and to make springes. Spears have never been used. The Dorobo used to have hunting dogs, but in the North Tindiret Forest the breed seems to have died out, though it existed in 1927. They have two kinds of trap: (i) The pit trap, *ngwet*, formerly used for buffalo, consisting of a pit 8 ft. long, 3 ft. wide, and 6 ft. deep, with wooden spikes set in the bottom. (ii) The springe or snare, *porosat*, which consists, briefly, of a springy stick bent over, with a noose attached to it connected with a platform: the arrangement is such that when an animal treads on the platform its head enters the noose, and the pressure on the platform releases the springy stick, which flies up, tightening the noose, and holding the animal suspended. Such traps can be made in less than ten minutes. This type is used chiefly to catch antelopes, but leopards have been caught in them. Cross-bar traps with a drop-spear were not used by the Kipkurerek Dorobo.

The only hunting taboo recorded is that the night before he goes out hunting a man must abstain from sexual intercourse. This does not apply to the setting of traps.

As regards land rights, the forest was divided into districts, *koret*, pl. *koroosek*, and in his district each man had an hereditary block of land in which he hunted, set traps, kept his honey-barrels, and collected wild food. Occupation rights were recognized by public opinion, and trespass on a man's forest area, *i.e.*, deliberate entry in order to start hunting without permission or the promise of a piece of meat, might result in the trespasser's death at the hands of the owner, who would then have to pay compensation for homicide. Theft of game from a trap is said never to have occurred, not only because the thief might be killed, but because his belly would swell to a great size and he would die after eating meat stolen from a trap.

Bees

Honey is to the Dorobo what milk is to the Nandi: it is "sacred," and its supply must be protected by the observance of taboos. Fruit and blood must not be eaten on the same day as honey (though meat may be eaten); when a comb is emptied, it must be carefully hidden in the undergrowth; and after eating honey a Dorobo cleans his hands in earth, not (like the Nandi) by wiping them with leaves.

The Dorobo recognize four varieties of bee: *sekemik*, the honey-producing kind; *imeiik*, solitary bees which live in trees; *kosomek*, earth bees, which live in the ground; and *kiptulonik*, mason bees, which live in cells made of earth and particles of stone cemented together by their own saliva. The Dorobo divide the honey-bees, *sekemik*, into three kinds: the queen, *kamet ap sekemik*, "the mother of the bees"; the workers, called simply *sekemik*, considered to be males, which make honey by eating the "sap" (*pek*) of flowers and then vomiting it into the empty honey-combs; and the drones, *kapurenik*, considered to be idle females which do nothing useful.

Hives or honey-barrels (*pasanet*) are made either of slats of wood tied together, with circular wooden end-pieces; or of the two halves of a piece of log split longitudinally and tied together. They are set in trees, and when a new hive is put up, the owner calls the bees, in a high-pitched tone, to come and occupy it: "Bees, bees, from all the country, come here now, and pour in honey, pour in honey." Bees are said to recognize their owners by their body-smell, and do not sting them when taking honey. Certainly taking honey does not appear to be a painful or dangerous process to the Dorobo owner. Theft of honey from a barrel is considered very low, and a man might kill a thief, though he would have to pay compensation for homicide.

Honey is an important article in Dorobo economy: it is eaten as food, made into an intoxicant, used for ritual purification, and it forms an article of commerce.

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

412 find lying about on the farms. The only weapon is the bow, *keyanda*, which the
411 Dorobo make themselves from the *kwiet* tree (*Strebla* sp.); it is about 3 ft. long, and
[439] the bowstring, *iost*, is made from gut of the giant pig, *tumda*. Arrow-shafts are
378 made from the *koromandet* and *mutsila* trees, or from bamboo, *sosiyot*; arrow-
heads are bought from the Nandi, and are of the Nandi patterns. Arrows are carried
in quivers made of hide. Arrow poison is made from the *kelilot* bush (*Acocanthera Schimperi*).

Baskets

415 Making baskets, *kerupet*, is a common occupation of Dorobo women. They are
[462] made from fibre of the *phoenix reclinata* palm, *sioiet*, and sewn with bast made from
[124] a plant called *taparuriet*. The technique is a spiral foundation with a flat then
385 gradually ascending coil, of the simple over-sewn type and bee-skep variety, the
stitches being spaced out and not close together.

Miscellaneous

317 Salt used to be made from the ashes of the plant *tepenguet* (*aemilia integrifolia*).
[263] Red and white earth is found near Timboroa on the east of the Dorobo country, and
[439] men go in parties of four or five to dig it, carrying home the earth in large leather
[302] bags, mainly in order to sell it to the Nandi who, in 1930, gave them 2s. a bag.
415 Red earth, *erokoit*, is mixed with fat or simsim oil for rubbing on the hair; white
482 earth, *ewoniet*, has magico-religious uses. For carrying a number of small objects a
1 carrying-net called *inkudet* is used; it is made of a pair of oval rims 3 ft. 6 ins. long
with pieces of liana stretched across them, somewhat resembling a pair of handleless
tennis rackets. These are sometimes used by the Nandi.

Ritual and Beliefs

Religion

776 *Atoita*, the sun, is recognized as a being that can supply or withhold the needs
of people: *Asis, ipiyec panyoh*, "*Asis*, fill us with meat," is a common prayer.
Some say that *Aruna* the moon is his sister, others that she is his mother. Besides
Asis, it is believed that there is a being called *Ilet*, the thunder, who produces rain,
and "the rainbow is his arm which draws up water for him." The Dorobo also
believe in spirits, good and bad, both of which are called *ceuwuloi*, a word which
includes the *oiik* (ancestral spirits) and *menambuasik* (evil spirits) of the Nandi. The
775 ancestral spirits have the same significance and functions as those of the Nandi, and
though they punish the living for doing evil, they are otherwise friendly and visit
the living, travelling in the bodies of snakes, both to see their people and to get food
in the form of *lokomch* (honey and water); spirit-snakes should not be killed.

Divination

760 The Dorobo appear to have no diviners of their own, and when they have
768 recourse to divination, as in cases of illness or witchcraft, they go to Nandi diviners
498 of the type called *sakeyuot*, by whom they are charged a small fee. The people
759 called *orkoiyot* (pl. *orkoik*) among the Dorobo are no more than leeches or physicians
who prepare healing medicines from trees and plants. Although the Dorobo have a
789 reputation among other tribes as powerful rain-makers, they themselves say that they
have no rain-makers, which is probably true.

Death and Burial

764 Very old men and women are buried in narrow holes about 5 ft. deep in which
the bodies are laid full length wearing their clothes; one year after an old man's
death his children plant a branch of *mukupcot* (*dracaena* sp.) on his grave and let it
grow. Other people are laid out for the hyenas, both sexes on the right side with

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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possibly these Dorobo had been poor Masai, who, having lost their cattle, had taken to hunting, is probably the correct one. It would appear likely that the Dorobo in question were *Balaŋga*, though Sir Claud was unable to satisfy himself as to their true origin.

The original *Balaŋga* are stated to have come from the Kisongo [1] district of the Masai. It may be that this is the case, as the name Kisongo originally stood for a very large tract of country—in fact, almost the whole area occupied to-day by the Masai of Tanganyika Territory. It is certain that there now are *Balaŋga* Dorobo with the Masai throughout the length and breadth of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve, and it becomes more difficult daily to find *Balaŋga* who still devote themselves to hunting. Even those who own little or no stock prefer to live with their richer brethren or with the Masai. The younger men have never led a bush life. They carry spears [2] (and, when appropriate, shields) and do not care to be reminded of the fact that they were ever other than the Masai.

Occasionally, when an elephant or other large beast is killed by the European sportsman, a few old men (Masai, to all outward seeming) will make their appearance unobtrusively, generally accompanied by donkeys. Having obtained permission, they will proceed to rip and hack away huge quantities of the flesh with a determination and cheerful abandon seldom to be met with in the Masai. When the donkeys have been loaded with as much meat as they can carry, the old gentlemen will quietly depart, bound, presumably, for a banquet of Gargantuan proportions. Should one ask, they will admit shyly that they are *Balaŋga*, but will almost always add: "We are now Masai again."

I think there can be no doubt that the Masai and the *Balaŋga* are one and the same. The opinions of the Masai (notoriously unwilling to admit the equality of others) and the *Balaŋga* themselves are unanimous on the matter, and I have been unable to discover any shred of evidence to the contrary. It would appear reasonable to assume that the *Balaŋga* are the

[1] Cf. Hollis: *Masai Language and Folklore*; pp. 260, 261. The name would seem to be restricted, nowadays, to an area south-west and west of Arusha. (Map reference: B 3; Kilimanjaro: E, F, I, K.)

[2] The spear would not seem to be an indigenous Dorobo weapon.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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A *Mōurot* (LEFT) AND A MASAI OF THE *'L-Aiser* CLAN. THE PHOTOGRAPH WAS TAKEN AT KIRAVA. THEY HAVE EXCHANGED THEIR WEAPONS. (MCCALL.)

(To face page 134.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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mind) made by placing the forefingers on either side of the nose and calling into the hollow formed by the palms of the joined hands.[1]

The *Méséro* are fast and accurate bowmen at close range, and there are few of them who have not accounted for more than one lion with this weapon. A *Méséroi* at present in my employ is credited with having killed thirteen lions thus, three of them with one arrow. The arrows, of course, are poisoned,[2] and are discharged with a force that would, I feel sure, excite the admiration of a European toxophilite. A curious, crouching attitude is adopted when drawing the bow-string and the archer faces his target, not adopting the more usual position of standing at a right angle to it. The killing of a lion with the bow is not regarded as an event of especial importance and the carcass is often left to rot in its skin.

If trouble is in the wind, the *Méséroi* will always make for the haven he knows best—the bush. There he will live, apparently quite independent of the products of civilisation, and in nowise inconvenienced by a total lack of water, for weeks at a stretch, returning (when the trouble has blown over) with a skin bottle or bag bulging with honey. I could not understand the apparent ability of the *Méséro* to live for long periods in country I knew to be waterless until I had been introduced to what they laughingly said was "the dry-season water." This is an enormous tuber[3] with a skin like the domestic potato. Under the skin is a milky, sticky layer about half-an-inch in thickness. This surrounds the inner core, which is of the appearance and consistency of a raw potato, is slightly fibrous and very moist. When this is chewed (the residue is not generally, but may be, swallowed), it gives great relief to thirst. Squeezing or pounding one of these tubers over a cooking-pot will result in the accumulation of a surprising amount of quite

[1] My predecessor at Kilinya shot two male lions which were "called" to a kill in this way by the *Méséro*. He sat beneath a tree at a place where two lions had recently killed; the *Méséro* mounted the tree and began calling. After a short time, one lion came to the kill (a goat) and was shot. The second lion came quite soon afterwards and was duly given his quietus.

[2] See the section devoted to Dorobo arms.

[3] This tuber, called *Kichorombosa*, is also known to the Kiddu Masai and is called by them *Ol-kiarobosa*. This is a corruption of the *Méséro* name, and the Masai freely admit that they learned of its existence from the Dorobo.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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Kisigua (if this is so) may indicate nothing more than the fact that their own language has been lost. My remarks are only in the nature of pure surmise, because, as I have said before, I have had no opportunity of conversing with or investigating these people.

This, as far as my information extends, concludes the list of types of people living in, or adjacent to, the Tanganyika Masai Reserve and calling themselves "Dorobo." In the Burungi area of the Kondoa District there are a few impoverished Burungi who live a bush life and who are sometimes referred to as "Dorobo" by their fellow-tribesmen. I imagine that they are the same, relatively speaking, as the *Balaka* and have no more real claim to the name Dorobo than have the Burungi themselves.

DOROBO ARMS

(Unless otherwise stated, all native names are in the language of the *Il-Méisi*.)

The following arms and equipment are commonly carried by the Dorobo in his wanderings through the bush. Many of the articles are in use by the Masai, but with the exception of the sword and throwing-club (which are Masai arms) and the poison (which is manufactured by the Wakamba of Kilosa), the arms are made by the Dorobo themselves. Spears and shields are not used by the true Dorobo, though, as I have said, *Balaka* and *Kisyalakai* who have abandoned their wanderings and have returned to the bosom of the tribe may, and often do, carry spears.

The bow (*kasanda*), which is always kept strung, is anything from four-and-a-half to five-and-a-half feet long. The length varies with the stature of the owner. There is no notch or other arrangement for affixing the string to the shaft—it is merely securely knotted at either end and never seems to slip. The wood used is that of the *Ol-pavisai* tree and is immensely tough and strong. The shaft of the bow is sometimes coloured brown with the stain produced by the spittle made from chewing a leaf the name of which I have been unable to discover, but more often its pristine whiteness gradually fades to a dull brown

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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411 [384] through use and continuous contact with hands and bodies which are frequently anointed with *Ol-kávia*.[1]

[237] The bowstring (*inor*) is made from the sinew embedded in the dorsal muscles of an ox, eland, greater kudu or hartebeest. Occasionally it may be manufactured from the tendon of a giraffe's leg.

[415] The quiver (*mostiat*)[2] is a cylinder of ox-, eland- or kudu-skin about two-and-a-half feet in length and capable of containing from fifteen to thirty arrows. A strap runs down one side and is attached to the removable cap. When this cap is put on, the strap, taut over the wearer's shoulder, keeps it in place. The quiver is the same in all respects as that used by the Masai, and an illustration of it will be found on p. 356 of *The Masai; their Language and Folklore* (Hollis).

The arrows (*kátik*; sing. *kái*) vary in length according to the size of the owner. They are generally between twenty and thirty inches long. Many kinds of wood are used for the making of the arrow-shaft (*muliandai*). The arrow-head (*nipáki*), which is made from any scraps of iron that can be obtained (since the decline of the *Il-Kwénos*,[3] no iron is smelted in Tanganyika Masailand, and swords and spears are made, almost exclusively, by the Chaga and the Wangusi), consists of a single barb. The hole bored in the shaft to receive it is reinforced with sinew (*Máirái*) from the leg of an ox. This is bound round the aperture, and then the work is smeared with a kind of gum (*ái*) obtained from the *Ngoisiandai*[4] tree. The arrow feathers are those of the vulture (*Aratchai*) or the long-legged insect-eating bird called *Endarúki*. The feathers are bound to the shaft with thin gut and the whole (including the nock) is then coated with a sticky paste obtained by chewing a tuber (*oibáiái*). This paste is smeared on and allowed to dry in the sun, when the result is surprisingly strong and well-knit.

[531] Dorobo arrows are workmanlike and extremely strong, but they are seldom if ever embellished or ornamented in any way.

The arrow-head is generally (when coated with fresh poison)

[1] See note, p. 138 *loc. cit.*
[2] Cf. the Masai *Ol-mótiak*.
[3] See note 1, p. 151.
[4] Cf. the Masai *Ol-ngoswa* (Pedersiana sp.; Hollis). The same tree.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLA Dorobo FLA

covered with a strip of soft hide—often that of reedbuck or impala—worked to a state of pliability resembling that of chamois leather. The barb is never coated with poison under any circumstance.

A small supply of fresh poison (*sqweswa*) is sometimes carried in the heel of the quiver. This poison is a black, sticky mass made by boiling the leaves of a certain tree and is manufactured exclusively by the Wakamba. The Dorobo know nothing about it, hold it in considerable awe, and have never attempted to make poison of their own.[1]

In the quiver is also carried a fire-stick (*Ol-kiriakyat*) and a fire-block (*sesewda*). The Dorobo are experts at making fire and scorn to use matches. A small flat spoon (*kwesiwandet*) for smearing poison on the arrow-heads is also carried—this spoon is made from the same wood as the bow; and a small knife for smoothing and rounding the arrow-shafts. This knife is called *orwete silidi*.[2] A wooden tube about twelve to eighteen inches long and a quarter of an inch in diameter, not unlike a peashooter, will always be found in a Dorobo quiver. This tube, called *endaire*, is used for drinking from pools which are shallow or which have a dirty, scummy surface. (It is a point of honour with every Dorobo and an unwritten bush law that a man should not stir up the mud in any water at which he drinks.) The *endaire* is also used to induce, by blowing through it, a blaze or clouds of smoke from lighted grass put into a hive to drive the bees away from the honey.

A Dorobo quiver, as we have seen, contains a large number of objects essential to the bush life that the Dorobo leads. It is scarcely to be wondered at, therefore, that it is next to impossible to purchase a furnished one. A Dorobo once told me (I am sure he meant it) that he would not exchange his quiver and its contents for five oxen. The price habitually paid to the parents of a girl taken in marriage is from two to five arrows, and a demand on the parents' part for a full quiver would be regarded as extortionate.

The Dorobo may be seen sometimes with a small axe which

[1] That is, arrow poison. The Dorobo are reputed to have a powerful poison they mix with snuff. When inhaled, it is stated to have a fatal result. I have been unable to obtain a specimen of this poison and doubt its existence.
[2] Literally, "Small knife."

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

differs little from that used by the Masai and many Bantu tribes. This axe is, primarily, a tool and not a weapon. They also carry the usual Masai club, which they call *rungu*.[1] This club is used indiscriminately as a throwing or hitting weapon. The Dorobo are excellent shots with it, but are more expert with the bow. The latter weapon they seem to venerate; they are for ever holding archery competitions among themselves, and it is no uncommon sight to see a Dorobo dreamily twanging the taut string of his bow (often little shorter than himself) and deriving obvious pleasure from the sound produced thereby.

A skin bag or bottle, of the usual Masai pattern, is used to bring home honey collected in the bush. The Dorobo carry this, when full (the same remark applies to any other load), by means of a strap of bark or leather round the forehead. The load hangs between the shoulder-blades in the usual Masai fashion.

The *Mōsiro* and *Aramanik* Languages

(A comparative list of numerals, words and tenses, with the equivalents in Masai and Nandi.)

The following symbols or marks have been used to assist in the correct pronunciation of the numerals and the short lists of words and tenses given. They have also been used throughout the text. Most of them are used as in Hollis's well-known works on the Masai and Nandi.

The symbol ~ when superimposed denotes that the *ng* occurring in the word has the same sound as the English *singer*. In cases where it does not appear the *g* is hard.

A diaeresis has its usual grammatical significance.

´ denotes that the letter beneath it is definitely accented.

¯ denotes a long open vowel. *ar* has been used in some words to denote an inimitable, long, drawling sound.

An elevated letter (as in *dalet*) denotes that the letter in question is barely perceptibly sounded.

Where ¯ appears over a vowel, it means that the letter has a

[1] This club is almost always made of the wood of a tree called by the Masai *Ol-oirien*. According to the authority quoted in Hollis, this tree is the wild olive (*Olea chrysophylla*). *Ol-oirien* may also mean the heart-wood of a tree (Hollis).

3:Huntingford E-S (1921-1928)529 FLA Dorobo FLA

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3:Huntingford E-S (1921-1928)1929 FLA Dorobo FLA

Hunting.

224 The chief occupation and, in fact, till the last few years, the only occupation of the Dorobo, is hunting (*ngon*: Kony. *kip-ngon-ion* = hunter). They say that at the present day they do not hunt so much as they used to. All kinds of animals were the objects of the chase; the buffalo (*kiptarwit*; N. *seid*), rhinoceros (*kipkemoi*), leopard (*mokilo*, N.); lion (*sendet*; *kpteiado* N.) giant pig (*tomdo*, N.) were among the bigger game hunted. Various kinds of monkeys and antelopes are also sought after, both for their skins and their meat. (See "Food" for a list of the animals eaten by the Dorobo.)

[411] [298] The weapons used in the chase are the bow (*kopelgda*, N.) and arrow (*kkiet*, N.; *ndomatit*, etc.), and spears (*almorondoit*?). Arrows and spears for hunting are poisoned with a concoction made from the koliet tree (N.).[1] Formerly, before the elephant disappeared from the Tinderet region it was hunted and killed with poisoned spears. Small game, besides being shot, are also caught in traps and snares, of which the Dorobo have two kinds; buffalo are also caught in the first kind: (1) Pits (*ngoret*), covered with thin sticks and leaves, with spikes (*kipsenjeiset*) set in the bottom. (2) Snares (*purbet*; N. *mamit*) (Text-fig. 32), which are constructed as follows: a springy stick, A, is stuck in the ground and bent over; to its upper end is fastened a piece of tree-rope, B, which is loosely attached to a looped stick stuck in the ground, supported by three short upright sticks; a little lower down the bent stick A is fastened a noose made from the mkwakyat tree, which is held in place by a cleft stick stuck in the ground on each side; under the noose is made a little platform of sticks, which is covered with leaves. When this platform is touched, since it is in contact with the stick holding the rope B, it releases the rope, and the stick A flies up, thereby tightening the noose.

[231] Dogs (*kpkiin*, pl. *kpkiik*) are used in hunting, and are the only animals kept by the Dorobo who live in the forest. When in the forest they wear leather collars, to which are attached, under the throat, a small bell. The dogs seem to be of a different breed to the ordinary thin-eared cur so common in native reserves, and they are kept in better condition. Their excrement round the huts takes the place of cow-dung in the neighbourhood of a Nandi hut, and makes the air unpleasant.

A description of the weapons is given on p. 346 below.

Food.

869 136 The staple foods of the Dorobo are honey (*kwonet*, N.) and meat (*pungek*, N.). For meat they kill the following animals:—

Antelopes.

Kipkemkut (N. *kimemkipt*).—Blue duiker (*Cephalophus monticola*).
Mimlet (N.).—Red duiker (*C. spadonotus*).

[1] *Acocanthera friesiorum.*

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FLA Dorobo FLA

291 301 large discs of brass wire (*kut*, pl. *kutik*), which are hung from the ears by leather straps (*mesilte*; N. *mesin*), to which are frequently fastened one or two cowries (*mdoriok*; N. *mdoruk*) (Text-fig. 18). These ear-rings are, as among the Nandi, the sign of marriage. Girls wear skins (*sbuviet*) or cloth (*sugut*). They have armlets (*kwrik*, N.) and leglets (*sbepukwet*; N. *tepukwet*) of iron-wire, and necklaces of wire or beads (*sniagusi*). The edges of skin garments, both of men and women, are generally trimmed and stitched.

Mutilations of the Body.

304 (a) *Ears.*—In both sexes a small hole (*ongdwrit*; Kony *ingdwrit*) is bored in the top of the ear. This among the Nandi is the tribal mark, and it seems to be so among the Dorobo. Both sexes also pierce the lobes of the ears, and elongate them by inserting cylindrical blocks of wood (*kutik ap titik*, N.), as among the Nandi. [305] Ear-rings are hung from the lobes, which in the case of men are often broken by being caught by branches in the forest.

(b) *Teeth.*—Some Dorobo remove the two middle incisors of the lower jaw, like the Nandi and other tribes; others do not. This is done, they say, "*si ko-kuruna-it pirik*" (in order that people may become beautiful).

(c) *Sexual Organs.*—Circumcision and clitoridectomy are practised. (*See* V, "Circumcision.")

Hair.

302 Men wear their hair moderately long; they put oil and red clay (*ngurut*, N.) on the hair, which sometimes becomes matted, as seen often on Nandi, particularly women. The head is shaved periodically. Boys put red clay and oil on to the shaved head. Both old men and senior warriors wear beards and moustaches, though to no greater extent than the Nandi. In some old men the beard is seen trimmed and pointed. Girls and women shave their heads periodically, and put oil on the shaved heads.

Paint.

Warriors paint their legs with red and white clay, as do the Nandi; they also put red clay on their heads.

Arts and Crafts.

325 [439] The Dorobo have few crafts of their own. They have no knowledge of metallurgy, and there are no smiths; all their ironwork is obtained from the Nandi.

(a) Weapons of Chase and War.

● 411 These consist of bows (*kwgukgda*), arrows (*kitiok*, *kiperuik*, *kipchkponik*, N.; and *ndwanit*); spears (*olmorondoit* or *morondoit*); swords (*usuukto*; or *rotut*, N.); shields (*kulget*, N.); and knives (*chombolwet*, N.). Spears, swords, and shields are obtained from the Nandi.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FLA Dorobo FLA

411 *Bows.*—These are made from the kwoiot (N.) tree, and average 5 ft. 1 in. in length. The string (*laat*, N.), which is made from the entrails of the giant pig (*tumda*, N.), is tied to the bow (Text-fig. 4).

[237]

[439] *Arrows.*—The iron heads (*kipchépet*) are bought from the Nandi, and are usually of the Nandi shapes called chepilolîgiet (Text-fig. 5) and kipchapet (Text-fig. 6) (H.N. Figs. 33, 34). They are from 3½ ins. to 4 ins. long. They are always tanged, and are inserted in a slit made in the arrow-shaft (Text-fig. 9) and bound with fibre or skin binding (*simolto*). The shafts are made of the soosiyat (bamboo), masmita, and kwemamchet trees, and are of an average length of 2 ft. There are three feathers (*kworik*, N.), which are split and trimmed, and fastened to the shaft by a spirally-bound cord (Text-fig. 8). The shaft immediately above the feathers is bound with skin *simolto*; the notch (*susita*) is shouldered, and bound over the shoulder with a skin *simolto*. The length of the feathers is 2 ins. to 2¾ ins. Arrows are kept in a quiver (Text-fig. 10) (*mootiet* N.; *mbolîyôt*) of leather, and about 2 ft. 3½ ins. long, with a leather cap and a sling for carrying it round the body. (For the position assumed by Dorôbo for shooting with the bow, see H.N., Pl. VII.)

412 *Knives.*—The iron blades are bought from the Nandi. They vary in length from 9 ins. to 12 ins., and are about 1½ ins. wide. The handles are about 5 ins. long, of wood, with spiral marks cut in them, and covered with skin, which is pressed into the marks so that they show through the skin. The knives are carried in leather sheaths (*chokot*, N.) which are attached to leather belts (*tapsienet*, N.) (Text-fig. 3).

(*b*) Leather.

281 Skins are dressed and trimmed, and furnish, besides articles of dress and bedding, quivers, sheaths and bags. The ordinary type of bag is called motoket.
415 It is used for various purposes, including carrying honey; for honey-bags, the fur is removed. Bags for carrying other things are made of antelope skin (e.g. *kipsokot*, blue duiker) with the fur left on, and flaps to shut them, which are fastened by a
[482] skin cord tied round the bag (Text-fig. 12). They are slung from the shoulders by a skin cord. Small bags are about 7 ins. by 6½ ins.; others are larger.

(*c*) Baskets (*kereyet*, pl. *kereyonik* (N.)).

285 These are made by the women. They resemble Nandi baskets of the same name.
[462] The upright straws in the baskets are called taparik; the cross straws, sosik (N. = *Phœnix reclinata* palm). The bottoms are flat and are made of skin, which is sewn to the sides. Some have a handle of skin. The average depth of the baskets is 6 ins., width at top 6½ ins. (Text-fig. 21).

(*d*) Miscellaneous.

482 For carrying things in the forest, a contraption called lekwelet (N.) is used (Text-fig. 23). It consists of two oval objects somewhat like tennis-rackets fastened

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 F16 Dorobo F16

it himself; but this was regarded as unusual for the case of a married man with a comparatively young wife (his wife Cepkumuren was at that time about 25).

While the sexes within the horde are interdependent, the horde as a whole is dependent on the outside world as represented by the Nandi. Not only do some Dorobo now actually live with Nandi, but they depend on them entirely for all their articles of iron, without which they cannot hunt. Socially, however, symbiosis is increasing. Sometimes unattached old men like Arap Cepsuku, who was about 70 at the time of my visit, live in huts occupied by Nandi: Arap Cepsuku himself was then living with an old woman at Kipkorom, sharing her hut, and growing a little eleusine at one end of her shamba, but merely as a lodger, having no sexual relations with her, for which both were too old. As he was a poor old man, she fed him and looked after him for nothing. This is true symbiosis, as the late Dr. SELIGMAN called it, and the principle is greatly extended by the Dorobo. For, whatever may be the collective attitude of Nandi to Dorobo, and of Dorobo to Nandi, the Dorobo depend on the Nandi for certain essentials, and the Nandi look to the Dorobo for certain things which they can get most easily from them. To the Dorobo, the Nandi, in the shape of the Nandi blacksmith, is indispensable, and the good will of the Nandi people is equally essential if they are to make use of his services.

The Dorobo do not specialize. Every man learns to make all the things he needs for bee-keeping and hunting (except those made of iron); every women learns to make baskets and prepare skins. The raw materials exist close at hand, and may be grouped under 5 heads:

(A) Wood: used for huts, implements, honey-barrels, traps, fuel.
(B) Plant material: used for food, medicine, salt, baskets, and tinder.
(C) Skins and other animal products: used for clothing, bags, roofs, etc.; dung, used to a limited extent for plastering walls.
(D) Earth and stone: coloured earth for painting; granite for grindstones; earth for plastering walls.

(A) Wood. The following trees are used for making weapons, utensils, etc.:

Kuriot (teclea sp.): bows; house-building; honey-barrels.
Masaita: arrow-shafts; firewood.
Koromandet: arrow-shafts.
Sosoiyat (bamboo): arrow-shafts; internodes used as water jars.
Ketuywet: traps.
Kimoluet (vangueria edulis): traps.
Keliot (acocanthera Schimperi): arrow-poison.
Lepekuet (dracaena sp.): house-building; honey-barrels.
Kipseputet (tilia sp.): house-building; honey-barrels.
Maroita: house-building; honey-barrels; fire-wood.
Sasuriet (wild banana, musa ensete): house-building; honey-barrels.
Tenetuet: honey-barrels; fire-wood.
Poroet (liana): traps; honey-barrels; house-building; any purpose for which rope is required.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

313 *Rerendet* (euphorbia candelabrum) : honey-barrels.
824 *Mocet:* honey-barrels.
Ollamiyoit or *Yemdit* (olive, olea chrysophylla) : fire-wood.
Enyasieh: fire-wood.
Cornet (ficus sp.) : fire-sticks.
Teet (cedar, juniperus procera) : fire-sticks.

824 (B) Plant material. The following trees and plants provide material for food, salt, medicines, and utensils[6] :

[372] *Sasiat* (dry grass) : tinder for making fire with fire-sticks.
[285] † *Tapariet:* fibre for baskets.
[278] *Sosiot* (phoenix reclinata palm) : fibre for baskets.
† *Tiinet:* medicine.
† *Opeito:* medicine.
Rerendet: medicine.
Lepuyuwet: medicine.
Silotnet: medicine.
Seketet: medicine.
Usnet (ardisia sp.) : medicine.
[263] *Tepenguet* (aemilia integrifolia) : salt.
Serenguet: salt.
[273] *Rotinnet* or *Rotiot* (kigelia aethiopica) : making honey-wine.

825 (C) Skins and animal products. These include :

237 † Monkey : food ; clothing.
[291] † Antelope : food ; clothing ; bags ; quivers.
[411] Pig-gut : bow-strings.
Feathers : arrows.
† Honey : food ; wine ; ritual purposes.
Ram's fat : ritual purposes.
[583] Goats : bride-payment ; ritual purposes.
Cattle : bride-payment ; milk ; dung ; hides.
[412] Bush-buck : tails for brooms.

285 The basket most commonly made by the Dorobo is the small *kerepet*, about 6 inches deep and 6 ½ inches wide at the top. This kind of basket is used a good deal by the Dorobo themselves, and is also a frequent article [439] of sale or exchange to the Nandi : *kinapci kereponik Nandi*, "we make baskets [461] for the Nandi", as an old woman said. Dorobo women make baskets when they have nothing particular to do, just as European women knit. The materials used are fibre from the midrib of the *sosiot* palm, which is split into thin strips, and bast from a plant called *tapariet* which is used for sewing the coils of fibre with the aid of a small needle (Fig. 1)[2/1]. The basket maker starts by splitting the *sosiot* fibre, preparing a certain length and biting it off as she

[439] [6] Things marked with a dagger † are used in the preparation of objects given to the Nandi in exchange for their products.

2/1 [i.e. see category 116 & 617 - ANALYST.]

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

224 [805] [221] The year was divided, from the hunting point of view, into the dry season and the wet season. In the wet season people did not generally go out hunting, but stayed at home and set traps to catch antelopes and the like. In the dry season they hunted all sorts of game with bow and arrow in the forest and far afield. Thus, Arap Minio told of how soon after he had been circumcised he was one of a hunting party that went into North Nandi, as far as the hills Kaptepe and Tapsakoi [15] near the modern Turbo, some forty miles from the forest, in the days when there were no Europeans there; and another Dorobo spoke of hunting monkeys as far from home as Kapiyet in North Nandi. Leopard, monkey, and pig are still plentiful. Buffalo still exist to the east, in the direction of Timboroa and Londiani, but they have not been hunted by the Dorobo in recent years, in fact, they say, not since about 1900 when the Kaplelac age were warriors. Elephant are no more, but they were found in this area, according to some old men, when the Sawe and Kipkoimet were warriors about 60 to 70 years ago. There are no lion in the forest, but the Dorobo occasionally shot them in the plains. Leopard used to be hunted by organized parties, but this practice has been discontinued for some years, though they are still attacked and killed by individuals if they get aggressive, as in February 1939, when Arap Singira got his lip torn in a leopard hunt at Sosoiyo. Sometimes traps are made for them, of wire which is picked up on the farms. But trapping leopard is not common, and the trap made by Arap Menati which caught a leopard in July 1938 was said to be exceptional. [231] Generally they prefer to hunt a leopard with dogs, as in the old days, when if one was put up by a dog and climbed a tree, the hunter came and shot it.

[185] There is really no close season, as we understand the expression. The trapping season, which did in fact give the game a respite, was not intended for that purpose, but was for the convenience of the hunters themselves, because when it is wet, the forest is difficult to go through, the undergrowth thick, and the ground muddy and slippery; though some have been known to hunt pig there in wet weather.

●[411] Dorobo hunting equipment consisted of a bow, poisoned arrows, quiver, knife, and dogs. Spears have never been used by the Kipkurerek, and the spear trap reported to be found among some Dorobo does not appear ever to have been one of their methods of killing big game. For trapping, a man needs only something to cut the materials with, and, of course, his skill; if he is to make a pit-trap, he needs something to dig with.

411 [322] [239] Bows are made mainly from the *kuriot* tree (teclea sp.) and are about 5 ft. in length. A suitable piece of wood is cut and scraped with a knife-blade till it is smooth and of the right thickness. The bow-string, *inet*, is made of gut from the giant pig, *tumta;* the gut is stretched, greased and twisted till it becomes sufficiently strong and pliable for use. It is knotted to the ends of the bow an inch or so from each end: no notch is cut in the wood to receive it. Arrow-shafts are made from the *koromandet* and *masaita* trees, as well as from split bamboo; they are smoothed with a knife-blade in the same way as

[103]

[15] Better known to Europeans as Kiboloss and Kapsagol.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

the bow. Quivers are made of ox-hide. Arrow-poison is made from the bush called *keliot* (acocanthera Schimperi), the use of which the Nandi say was discovered by the Dorobo [16]. It is made in this way: leaves and branches are broken off and boiled in a pot for several hours. The resulting liquid is strained and boiled again till it becomes thick and tar-like. When cool it is placed on a sheet of bark, covered with another piece of bark and put in a tree out of the reach of children, together with the pot in which it was boiled. After making poison a man must purify himself by bathing in a river. *Keliot* poison acts very quickly, but does not make the whole of the animal killed by it unfit to eat. The flesh round the site of entry is cut away and destroyed, and the rest is eaten with safety.

The Dorobo used to have hunting dogs (*sokto*, pl. *sokik*) which at one time were the only animals they kept. They still have dogs, but the hunting breed which I saw in the Kelpui-Kipkorom area in 1927, seems to have died out, for though I saw a few dogs there in 1939, they were nothing more than the ordinary native type, the thin-nosed cur so common in Native Reserves and on farms wherever Africans are found. The original breed, as I saw it in 1927, had, it is true, a tightly curled tail, but was a much better looking animal, of a different shape, and much fiercer, resembling the so-called '*basenji*' dog of the Belgian Congo [17] more than anything else, especially in its prick ears, tail, and carriage, though it could bark. When in the forest, the Dorobo put leather collars on their dogs, with a small bell under the throat so that they could tell where the animals were when they put up game. It was noticeable both in 1927 and 1939 that the Dorobo treated their dogs better than Africans usually do — they paid more attention to them, played with them, and fondled them.

The traps used by the Kipkurerek are of two kinds: the pit-trap, and the springe. The pit-trap, *nguret*, is simply an oblong pit about 6 to 8 ft. long, 3 ft. wide, and 6 ft. deep, dug with digging-sticks, and the earth removed in bags or baskets. Wooden spikes, *kipuaiyeinat*, were often set in the bottom, and the whole was covered with thin sticks concealed by a layer of grass and leaves. The trap was dug across a path known to be used by buffalo, the animal it was chiefly intended to catch. This type is no longer used. The springe is the only trap used to-day. It is called *poroet*, and can be made in a very short time by almost any Dorobo. It is used chiefly to catch smaller game like antelope. The materials required to make a springe are wood, liana, and grass, and the only tool used is an axe or *panga* (the long-bladed knife or cutlass common in Africa, and now often used by Dorobo). The trap about to be described was made for me on the edge of the forest at Kipkorom by Coimin arap Katam on 9 July 1938. It took him about 12 minutes from start to finish, and did all that was claimed for it; it should be noted that he was somewhat out of practice, and probably took a little longer than a man who was constantly making traps.

[16] Cf. HOLLIS, The Nandi. Oxford 1909. p. 108.

[17] Cf. Capt. G. DOLLMAN in Journ. Roy. African Soc. 36. 1937. 148.

7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6

241 beer called *sees* is brewed from *ripp*. Planting is done in a season called *Loukwung*, when there A form of
[273] are, or should be, light rains. This is well recognized, as are two other seasons or months:
[132] *Lovara*, a time of rain; and *Loichetto*, a time of much rain.

805 *The Calendar.*—The Wanderobo are very hazy about the calendar, and disagree among themselves about it. The "year" appears to be divided into six months, of which the following lists were compiled from those who pretend to know about them. No two agree, it will be noticed, except 3 and 4, which are probably wrong, for my informants displayed much uncertainty.

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
Ladunga.	*Loukwung.*	*Ladunga.*	*Ladunga.*	*Loukwung.*
Lumuka.	*Ladunga.*	*Loukwung.*	*Loukwung.*	*Lovara.*
Lukwa.	*Loumuk.*	*Loumuk.*	*Loumuk.*	*Loicheto.*
Lovara.	*Loicheto.*	*Loicheto.*	*Loicheto.*	*Loudunga.*
?	*Lovara.*	*Lovara.*	*Lovara.*	?
?	?			

262 *Food.*—In addition to the above-mentioned grain the Wanderobo will eat almost anything they can get their teeth into, but I do not gather that they will eat human flesh. They will devour any kind of antelope or pig, elephant, rhinoceros, etc., also carnivores of all kinds, except the hyæna; nor do they eat chicken (the Dodotho say that this is because they—the Wanderobo—do not possess any) or snakes. Honey is greatly prized, and bee-traps are set
[222] far and wide in the trees.

462 *Division of Labour.*—A man's work, except during the hunting season, is wood cutting and attendance on the crops, where his main function is that of a scarecrow. During the hunting season all the able-bodied men leave the village in search of game, which they spear and trap. On wet ground they will actually run down a buck. When the hunters are out, work in the fields and village is done by women, children, and old men. The boys help with the crops, and the girls are employed in the village grinding grain and fetching water with the women. The very old people sit about and take little active part in the life of the community.

517 *Recreations.*—The Wanderobo have no musical instruments. They rarely dance, and while the children doubtless play games I gathered no reliable information under this head.

439 *Manufactures.*—The Wanderobo are peculiarly wanting in this respect. They make neither
[285] baskets nor pottery. The former I did not see among them (the people were found to be using
[323] gourds as cooking pots). The latter is obtained from the Dodotho in exchange for tobacco.
[415] Their shields (*kesen*) are similarly obtained, while their spears (*biss*) come from the Dodinga
[411] country, just over the border in the Sudan. It is noticeable that they use the short stabbing
[352] spear. These, it may be noted, are the only tanged spears I saw in Karamoja. They use headrests (*sekicholung*) of Dodotho origin; as with all other tribes in this part of the world,
[531] they carry their water in gourds, upon which they frequently carve crude designs.

/54 cont'd/

in the dense forests of Kenia and Kikuyu, the forest-clad escarpment of Mau, the top of Elgeyo, Maraqwet, Chibcharagnani, Buru, Dondote etc. They are rarely found in numbers and usually in very small villages, so that there is nothing like tribal /55/ life among them. They enjoy considerable immunity from attack by the Masai, as they are sources of wealth to the latter by attracting the coast traders; usually, too, the Masai fall heir to a considerable share of the ivory. They also act as go-betweens or middlemen in getting the married people the vegetable food they require. To such an extent is this system carried, that on the plateau to the east of Naivasha at the place called by the traders Mianzi-ni, a very large village of Andorobbo have altogether given up hunting, and subsist entirely by buying vegetable food from the Wa-kikuyu and selling it again to the Masai or it may be the traders.

131 361 439 [648]

"The language spoken by the Andorobo is allied to that of the Masai, but they can all speak the latter in its purity. They build regular villages, and in general appearance they resemble the inferior class of Masai. As I have already remarked, they make the buffalo-hide shields of the warriors as well as the coarse earthen cooking-pots of the women. They are on the whole looked upon as a species of serf, and treated accordingly. Their transactions with the traders must be done secretly, or everything would be stolen from them."

197 361 144 411 415 439

Mr. C.W. Hobley, in the glossary to his Bantu Beliefs and Magic, says:

101

"Dorobo in Masai means tsetse fly. The name for an aboriginal race of hunters who inhabit the great forests of the highlands in East Africa. They call themselves Asi and the Kikuyu call them Adzi. The name of the Athi River is believed to be a corruption of Adzi."

9:Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL6 Dorobo FL6

They are said to be very prolific, having families of eight to ten children, but the infant mortality is so extremely heavy that their numbers increase very slowly; this mortality is probably due to the cold, damp climate of the Mau Forests, which are at an altitude ranging from 7,000 to 9,000 feet.

Their peace ceremony consists of cutting off a dog's ears, and the contracting parties then spatter one another with the blood.

They live principally on Colobus and other monkeys, which they shoot in the forest. At certain seasons, however, they go and hunt big game on the plains, known as the Rangata Nyuki; they wait till the grass is dry, and then burn it to facilitate their hunting. They use poisoned arrows for big game, and unpoisoned ones for monkeys, &c. They train dogs to assist in their hunting, and are very keen to get young dogs for the purpose. They told me that they first gave the dog certain medicine, and the animal could then track game.

They are very clever elephant hunters, and informed me that when they came across an elephant they went off and bathed and scrubbed themselves very carefully to remove all trace of the human scent, and that they were then able to approach a sleeping elephant and spear it with a poisoned dart.

They are most expert in the use of a firestick. The fire is produced in the ordinary way by the friction of one stick spun round vertically in a depression in another piece of wood, which is held firm between the bare feet of the operator; the lower piece of wood appeared to be the juniper of Mau.

A small vocabulary of their language is appended on the opposite page. They use the Nandi numerals.

The prefix "ki," and the suffixes "et," "it," and "ek," are, I think, brought in from the Nandi language, but most of the roots will be found to be quite distinct. Many of the tribe can only speak Nandi, and when collecting this vocabulary in many cases they appeared to have forgotten the Oggiek or Omotik word but gave the Nandi word, and had to consult among themselves and, as it were, hunt up the proper word. The language is thus evidently dropping into such disuse that it will probably become quite extinct in the near future.

C. W. HOBLEY.

13:Hollis T-5 (ca. 1908) 1909 FL6 Dorobo FL6

ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

African, East. With Plate M. Hollis.

126 101

Some Dorobo Beliefs. *By A. C. Hollis.*

I recently went for a trip through the little known country lying between Naivasha and the Anglo-German frontier, and was fortunate enough to obtain a snapshot of a Dorobo, who was a member of the caravan, spitting towards the rising sun before saying his morning prayer (Pl. M, Fig. 1). Whilst performing this ceremony he had to lay aside his sword.

[827] [821] [982] [911] 789 [911] [996]

The rains were overdue at the time, and I took photographs of the same Dorobo making medicine to prevent the rain from falling. Fig. 2 shows him whistling at and defying the rain-god. In Fig. 3 he has laid aside his bow, and whilst holding his sword upright is rubbing the handle rapidly between his two hands. This is done when the rain-god takes no notice of his defiant remarks, and insists on turning on the celestial water-tap. It is doubtless only a remarkable coincidence, but although the rain oftened threatened we had very little till we returned to the Uganda Railway, when it came down in torrents. All the natives of the caravan—Kikuyu, Kavirondo, and other East African tribes—believed that the Dorobo had kept off the rain, and I was told more than once that if it had not been for him we should have been washed away.

197 It is worthy of note that I met some Masai-Dorobo in the Rift Valley who did not speak Nandi like most of the Dorobo in both British and German East Africa. Whether their ancestors had never known this language or had forgotten it owing to long intercourse with the Masai, or whether they had been simply poor Masai, who, owing to the loss of their cattle, had become outcasts and taken to hunting, I was unable to ascertain.

A. C. HOLLIS.

[P 177]

and by personal ability, and therefore to some extent by their geographical setting. They have no iron ore, no metallurgic knowledge, and so all ironwork is imported from the Nandi. Tobacco, which they like, is not grown as yet, and this too must be obtained from the Nandi. There is a regular exchange of honey, skins, and baskets, for arrowheads, knives, tobacco, seeds, pottery, etc., and a scale of exchange values has come into existence:

1 arrow head is given for a gourd of honey.
1 bundle of tobacco is given for a bag of honey.
1 large pot is given for a large bushbuck skin.
1 small pot is given for a duiker skin.
2 basketfuls of seed for one basket.[1]

Sometimes personal services are given, e.g. a day's weeding in the smith's garden for two knives.

Cattle are obtained from the Nandi, to a limited extent, by a system of gift exchange for furs. The Nandi make friends with the Dorobo chiefly for the purpose of getting honey, and the Dorobo will give some to his Nandi friend without expectation of an immediate return. Presently the Nandi gives the Dorobo a goat, and this exchange of gifts paves the way for further and more important transactions: eventually the Dorobo offers his friend a fur cloak for an ox, as e.g. my friend Arap Minig acquired one from a Nandi called Kapkile at Ollesos; he also got another in exchange for 7 goats, which he bought out of his wages for working on a farm.

C. Techniques

1. Hunting

The dry weather, *muainonik*, is the shooting season, and the wet weather, *iwot*, is the time for trapping. The weapon is the bow and arrow (spears are not used by the Kapchepkendi Dorobo), and the hunters use dogs.

In wet weather buck are caught in traps. In the dry season, wild pig of various kinds[2] were

[1] A honey-bag is about 12 ins. deep, and 8 ins. wide; it contains about twice as much honey as a gourd. A basket (kerepet) is about 6 ins. deep and 6½ ins. wide at the top.

[2] *Tumda*, the wart-hog (Phacochoerus aethiopicus); and *Torast*, the giant hog or bush-pig (Hylochoerus Meinertzhageni).

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12
Dorobo FL6

M 563 D 224 Before closing this chapter it may not be out of place to say a few words regarding a tribe of people whom I have referred to as the Andorobbo. This tribe—the Wa-ndorobbo of the Wa-swahili—is a small race of people scattered over Masai-land, who gain their entire livelihood by the chase. They neither keep cattle nor cultivate the land. The antelope, the buffalo, and the elephant supply them with such meat as they may desire, while they always find neighbouring tribes, less skilful in hunting, eager to exchange vegetable food for game. The elephant, however, seems to be their staple food, and as a rule the Andoroddo are to be found only where those animals abound; as, for instance, in the dense forests of Kenia and Kikuyu, the forest-clad escarpment of Maũ, the top of Elgeyo, Maragwet, Chibcharagnani, Buru, Dondolè, &c. They are rarely found in numbers, and usually in very small villages, so that there is nothing like tribal life among them. They enjoy considerable immunity from attack by the Masai, as they are sources of wealth to the latter by attracting the coast traders; usually, too, the Masai fall heir to a considerable share of the ivory. They also act as go-betweens or middlemen in getting the married people the vegetable food they require. To such an extent is this system carried, that on the plateau to the east of Naivasha, at the place called by the traders Mianzi-ni, a very large village of Andorobbo have altogether given up hunting, and subsist entirely by buying vegetable food from the Wa-kikuyu and selling it again to the Masai, or it may be the traders.

D [131] [361] M 563 D 439

M 563 D 192 105 The language spoken by the Andorobbo is allied to that of the Masai, but they can all speak the latter in its purity. They build regular villages, and in general appearance they resemble the inferior class of the Masai. As I have already remarked, they make the buffalo-hide shields of the warriors, as well as the coarse earthen cooking-pots of the women. They are on the whole looked upon as a species of serf, and treated accordingly. Their transactions with the traders must be done secretly, or everything would be stolen from them.

D 224 411 In hunting the elephant the Andorobbo use a peculiar weapon. In shape it is like the rammer of a cannon, the heavy head being intended to give additional weight in dealing a blow. In the thickened part is placed a weapon like a short but thick arrow, fifteen inches long, the head of the arrow being smeared over with the deadly poison of the *murju*. The whole spear is little short of eight feet. With this the

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12
Wa-kwafi
Dorobo FL6

elephant is attacked at close quarters, the arrow part driven into the great brute, and being loosely fixed in the handle, it remains when the latter is withdrawn. Another arrow is then affixed, and the same operation performed. It is said that an elephant will live a very short time after being thus stabbed, and entire herds are killed without one escaping, so dexterous and daring are these hunters. The Andorobbo also use the ordinary bow and arrow, but only for the smaller game.

D 224 411

CHAPTER XI.

THROUGH KAVIRONDO TO VICTORIA NYANZA.

THE people (Wa-kwafi) of Njemps presented an interesting study to the observer as throwing light upon the origin of the various small tribes which people Africa. Unquestionably Masai in race, and only separated from that tribe through the loss of their cattle and the consequent necessity of breaking their cherished convictions by cultivating the soil, they had developed new ideas, manners, and customs in a comparatively short period.

M 101 184

They did not by any means supply an argument in favour of the vegetarians; for in personal appearance they had distinctly degenerated, and could not for a moment compete with their aristocratic carnivorous brethren of Lykipia. This was especially noticeable among the women, who had lost their slender, *genteel* shape and acquired the ill-proportioned, unwieldy contour of the negress. Perhaps an exception might be made in favour of the young women, many of whom were well-formed and characterized by most pleasing and interesting manners.

M 142 184

The colony consisted of two villages—Njemps of Guaso Tigirish, close to our camp, and Njemps of Guaso na Nyuki. The houses were of the haycock order, with floors beneath the level of the ground, very small and badly built. They were surrounded by a double fence of thorns, which, however, are a greater source of danger than of protection, as in this dry climate they become like tinder, and consequently can be set on fire easily. If this were done at several points simultaneously, the inhabitants could easily be burned to death.

M 361 M 342 351

In a hazy sort of way they tried to keep up the distinction

M 184

/229 cont./

184 The fact that in many things the Asá served as a model for the latter two and that the El aaiti also often designate themselves as Asá follows [224] from the circumstances. They are both merely /230/ hunters, whereas [233] among the El gaaurek the tendency toward animal husbandry has still been preserved here and there.

128 In the following, for obvious reasons, only the Asá will be discussed.
197 Therefore the accompanying native words have been taken from the Asá idiom.

613 The fact that the Asá are divided into the same tribes and lineages
614 as the Masai and Wakuafi and that they also regard the oi oiboni[1] as
89 their chief has already been mentioned at the beginning. It is to be
171
000

142
291
• 411

Ill. 60. Wanderóbo men.

1. [i.e., the chief of the Masai people--Analyst]

/235 cont./

231 Then a man climbs up to the beehive, fastens it to a rope, unhooks it, and very slowly lowers it to the ground, so that through the continuing effect of the smoke the bees will also be driven out of the combs or stupefied in them. It is obvious that through this the honey must become very dirty, and, in fact, it tastes strongly of smoke and contains a large number of dead bees and larvae. No other method of driving the bees out is possible, however, and since they are extremely vicious and the people, only scantily clad, expose such large areas for their stings, the honey gatherers have to be enveloped in a thick cloud of smoke for their own protection. I was able to observe the viciousness of the native bees several times. It is by no means rare that a swarm will attack a caravan and sting some of the porters and donkeys into unconsciousness, the latter even to death. Tobacco smoke in particular incites them to attack, but they also seem to dislike loud singing and shouting.

In extracting the honey, one leaves about a quarter of it in each [261] comb so that the bees will not abandon the hive. The extracted honey [415] is packed into leather bags or wooden pots and thus stored. The capture of wild bees is unknown. Where such are found in a hollow [136] tree, one hangs in the vicinity an empty beehive that has previously been smeared on the inside with the extraordinarily aromatic honey of a Melipona species (subspecies Trigona) (2)

2. Identified by Herr Dr. Enderlein from samples sent to the Museum für Naturkunde /Museum of Natural Science/, Berlin.

222 known as el mafh. In order to be able to extract the honey of wild bees from hollow trees, one drives them out by holding aloft a burning branch with which one climbs to the hole.

• 411 322 [46] [462] In the camp one sees the men either squatting about dully or busy with carving, such as the beehives just mentioned, or with making bows, arrows, and clubs. The stick intended for the making of a bow (Fig. 87) (from the el boengei tree) is rounded, cut tapering at both ends, and then scraped smooth. After it has been rubbed

/336 cont./

411 322 [323] [297] with fat several times. It is heat over the fire. The sting is plaited together, coming and braidlike, out of short animal tendons and is extended by further interweaving up to the required length. The projecting starting-ends of the individual pieces of tendon are neatly cut off, whereupon one then rubs the now finished bowstring with some fat.

[297] [324] [412] The arrow shaft (Fig. 84) is carved out of a dry wooden stick, first rounded, then smoothed by scraping. The upper end is wound with tendons that have been coated with the vanishlike juice of a not yet described species of gladiolus known as dirrit, whereupon, on top, one drills in the one- /336/ /Figs. 83 and 84 appear here/ 411 centimeter-long hole for the tang of the arrow by a twirling motion [237] with a thin wooden chisel. At the lower end the three-part feather- [136] [323] ing -- out of the feathers of the carrion vulture (Neophron percnopterus) -- is first fastened on by being wrapped with a very fine [324] bast thread and then glued fast with the gladiolus juice just mentioned. Another wrapping of animal tendons is found between the feathering and the rear notch for the bowstring, in order to prevent a splitting of the shaft.

[325] [322] [171] [439] The people buy the iron points only if a point breaks off /337/ do they as a rule forge a new one for themselves. Clubs are carved from a piece of wood, as among the Masai. They buy the spears, of which there are one or more in almost every camp, from the blacksmiths of the Masai. The spears serve as weapons only in the camp, where shooting with arrows is not permitted, on account of the danger connected with that, since they are always poisoned.

415 [434] [285] The Axe for the most part buy wooden bowls and gourd bottles from sedentary tribes. On the other hand, in some places they plait shallow baskets, which they use for storing food.

524 [324] 171 The fact that the Wandorobo do not play the board game so popular among the Masai was explained to me by them with the words "During the game we would forget to hunt and then, with our families, would have to starve."

512 517 With the coming of darkness complete stillness as a rule comes over the camps, quiet even during the day: the day's work is done and everyone goes to his hut. Only on moonlit evenings do the old [273] people often still sit in the open for a few hours, talking, with a [535] gourd bottle of honey beer, while the young men and girls dance [533] and let their falsetto song ring out through the still night. Soon

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 313]

Sib Worker--III G-6 (1890-ca.1918) 1933 FLES Morel
Derelo 758
Ans

/Illustrations from p. 336 of the original source./

411
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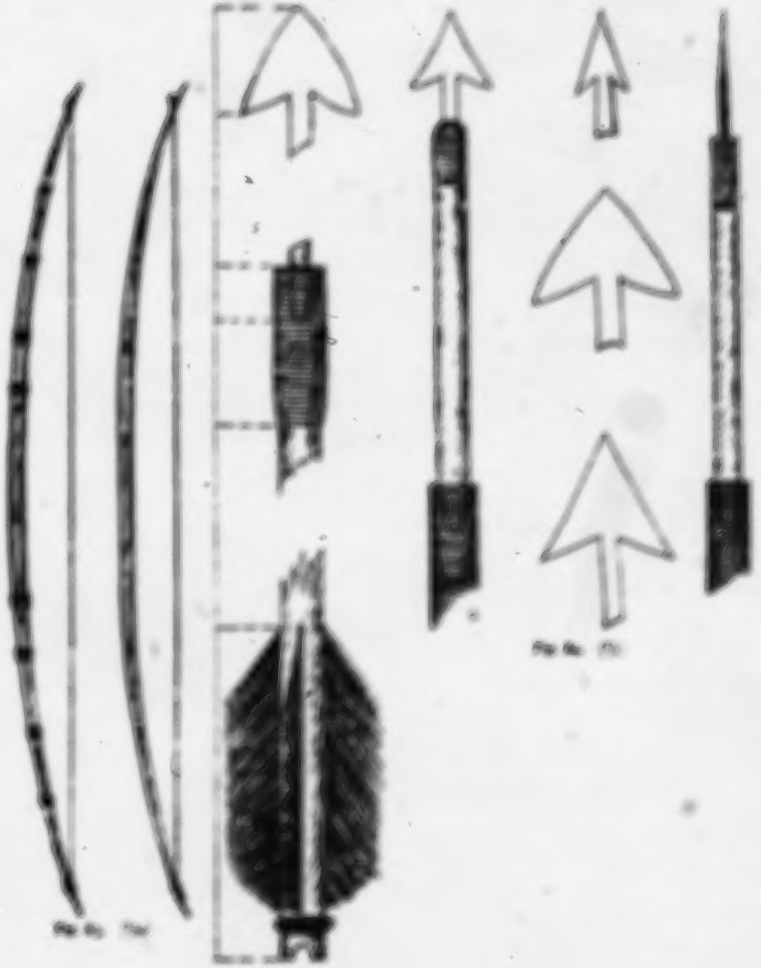

/344 cont./
elephants, buffalo, and lions, has distinguished himself through
courage and decisiveness and who shows these qualities anew again
and again is elected knight.

About the circumcision of the girls, it is only to be said that, adorned, a few days before the operation they set out for the neighboring camps to bid farewell to their younger girl friends. On these visits they are permitted to appropriate anything that they wish (food, clothing, ornaments, etc.), without special permission from the owners.

Concerning the reason for the circumcision the Asá also say that God commanded them to undertake this on their children.

/345/ VIII.

Hunting. -- The weapons, bow, arrow, hunting spear. -- Owner-ship marks. -- Preparation and effect of the arrow poison. -- Treatment of arrow wounds. -- Stalking. -- Hunting dogs. -- Ration. -- Battue hunting. -- Practice of hunting. -- Game. -- Superstition. -- Minor means of the hunters in the bush.

For the Ándorobo hunting is what war is for the Il máasai of the Masai. Their principal weapons are bow and arrow. The two-sided bow ([Fig. 88] gari, gaiowag) has the shape of a flattened segment of a circle. It is as a rule 1.50 meters long and very sharply flexible. With it belongs a leather quiver ([Fig. 88] ngátik, nadimarig) with arrows ([Fig. 84] mat, mara). The wooden arrow-shaft bears a small notch on its rear end for setting it on the bow string, and directly in front of it the three-part feathering (kalya). The iron point, which the Wandorobo usually buy from Wakuafi and Masai blacksmiths, but also from sedentary Negroes, and more

/345 cont./

411 [439] rarely also make themselves, as a rule has the so-called arrow shape. It bears either a short, flat tang, which is lengthened by insertion into a cylindrical one ten centimeters long, or else the latter and the point are worked continuously out of one piece. Now and then one also finds arrows among which the extension tang is made out of wood. These come from Ukambe, where the Wandorobo, who call them miaré, have bought them. The tang is stuck loosely in the arrow shaft so that the latter can fall off when the animal has been hit. Less frequently they use wooden throwing-spears (Fig. 88) with a loosely inserted, poisoned iron point, which, like the arrow point, remains sticking in the animal hit, while the wooden shaft falls off. They also attack the sleeping rhinoceros and hippopotamus with a sharp sword, which they tie on a stick and use as a thrusting or throwing spear. One leaves this weapon sticking in the wound so that, if the animal flees, it cuts the entrails still more by striking on the ground and against the bushes. Both types of spear are called mmchig. Both the point and tang of arrows and throwing spears bear a filed-in ownership mark (Plates 5 and 6), by which one can recognize tribe and lineage of the owner, in order, upon finding a slain beast of game, to determine its hunter. Like the ownership marks on the cattle and donkeys of the Masai, the symbols here are not the same for all Wandorobo, but vary more or less in the individual

Fig 87. (Tot)

[439]

[224]

422 [411] [224]

Fig 88. (Tot)

1b Marker--935 G-6 (1935-ca.1960) 1951 PLII Masai
Dorobo PLA
Ana

/345 cont./

422 directors. Besides such marks one also finds /345/ others that belong to individual large families and are then used in place of the former, not together with them. The point and tang of the arrows and throwing spears are always smeared along their entire length with a plant poison, which the Wandorobo themselves brew out of the wood and roots of the Acocanthera abyssinica, which they call adog, i.e., poison (1).

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1. Prof. Dr. L. Lewin, Berlin, produced a glycoside, amorphous ouabain, from Acocanthera wood that the author sent to him, which shows the following characteristics: it tastes bitter and is copiously soluble in cold water; Drehung /rotation/ $[\alpha]_D^{20} = -32^\circ$ for a 2 per cent cold dilute solution; it expands at 191°C; it has the per cent composition $C_{30}H_{44}O_{12}$; it is precipitated by cream of tartar; dissolved in concentrated sulphuric acid, it gives a quickly arising and strong fluorescence in green. -- Prof. Dr. E. Stadelmann, Berlin, clinically tested ouabain for serious heart ailments and expressed himself, among other things, about the results as follows: "Ouabain is easily soluble and I took advantage of this circumstance to inject it subcutaneously or intramuscularly. Injected subcutaneously or intramuscularly in a concentration of 0.3-0.4 mg. of ouabain three times daily in the above concentration, I have so far obtained for the most part among my heart patients a very prompt, excellent result in the direction of digitalis, without unpleasant side effects. If the experiences up to now continue to be equally favorable -- and I have no reason to doubt it -- there would

278 /947 cont./
278 arrows, not in the hut, but hung on a tree not far from the camp.
782 Only in rainy weather do they bring the things into the kraal and
834 keep them there in the hut of an old woman who herself, in their
[988] view, can no longer come into consideration in the above respect.
They even make themselves responsible, relative to the intensity of the sexual intercourse, for the slow dying of the animal struck by the poisoned arrow. The poison is smeared on the arrow point
278 with a wooden spatula, and, in order to protect the dried substance
• 411 from crumbling or from dissolving in damp weather (since it is very
294 hygroscopic), it is wrapped with a strip of thin antelope skin that is
[297] dehaired and made soft by being rubbed with fat. The poison acts
[988] very quickly, and, to be sure, by suddenly stopping the heart activity. In the case of a graze shot in the abdomen, breathing difficulty set in after five minutes, along with rapid movements of the nostrils and violent, cramplike muscle twitchings of the body and limbs. With brief interruptions of a quarter to a third of a minute the symptoms were repeated and increased in intensity. The pupils dilated to a circle. Nine minutes and 10 seconds after the shot the pupils, up to then blue-black, suddenly became sea-green, and, with violent twitching, death came. With quite fresh poison death is supposed to come in even a shorter time. In the steppe the poison is tested by shooting an antelope with an arrow newly poisoned. If on the trail of the fleeing animal one finds fresh urine and excrement, the poison is regarded as acting too weakly. Good poison put in the foot of a live turtle must lead to its death before it has crawled five
278 or six steps away. Neither the Asá nor the Wandorobo are acquainted
752 with a physiological antidote. For smaller, simple, and penetrating flesh wounds immediate washing with fresh urine is supposed to help. Aged Wandorobo often showed me scars on their own bodies, especially on arms and legs, which are supposed to have been caused by shots with poisoned arrows two to four centimeters deep. Both the appearance of the scars and the corresponding statements of people, which were separated in time and place from the former, corroborate this information.

/247 cont./

278 415 252 [411] 224 [634] [631] When the cooking of the poison is finished, the pot is cleaned with sand and water and used again for the preparation of food. The arrow point is thoroughly cleaned, heated red-hot, and poisoned anew.

The region in question for hunting has been divided by the El dorobo into definite districts, each of which may be hunted in only the community of its inhabitants. A district, in turn, consists of a number of precincts, whose grassy plains are burned off in a sequence following from their location, the weather conditions, etc. The wild animals then gather to graze on the grass soon freshly sprouting after the burning. This management explains why the hunter is only rarely /248/ forced to return home without booty and why he is able to feed his family continuously and regularly from the yields of his hunting.

The game in general in East Africa is game frequenting the same spot; but the meaning of this statement must be modified in accordance with the relatively enormously large areas here. Just as in Germany a hunter expects a herd of deer at a particular time on a particular knoll, the ol doroboni can quite certainly count on finding the game expected by him at the appropriate time in a region whose diameter amounts to approximately 3-5 kilometers. Considerable disturbances are caused, of course, by the appearance of large predatory animals, [136] especially lions almost always hunting in herds and the hyena dogs always hunting together in larger numbers.

In practicing hunting the men split up in such a way that the younger ones do the stalking on the open steppe, whereas the older ones lie in wait at the watering places of the game. Stalking requires incomparably greater endurance and skill than at home.. The ol doroboni must more accurately watch the wind, since his own strong odor makes it extremely easy for the animal to pick up the scent. He must take the greatest pains to conceal himself from the sight of the animal, since he is unfamiliar with any kind of adaptation to the region and the surroundings, so that his black body stands out clearly, even at great distances, on the usually light yellow steppe. The difficulty of the rush is further increased by the primitive nature of his weapons, which permit him to make an accurate shot only at 20 to 30 meters. In what concerns the patience, perseverence, and dexterity that the Wandorobo show in this, a European hunter can

/259 cont./

789 outside the camp in the steppe, or must leave a slain piece of game /260/ outside during the night, they walk around the spot, before the approach of darkness, with a burning twig of the mondeja bush. They assert that if one has done this, no predatory animal can approach.

789 531 411 224 On the bow end held diagonally upward in shooting, one frequently finds a design like a sentry box, which, in the belief of the people, God himself taught them long ago, and which is supposed to have the effect that in hunting they will kill only fat game.

754 [791] The nature of the sorcery through which sickness and death can be brought about they explain like the Masai. Evil, superterrestrial spirits have nothing to do with it. It is solely the work of evil human beings, who are despised, feared, and therefore expelled; they are called schogoto, in which one recognizes the Masai word ol osokutoni. Persons with the evil eye, who are called gallagumma, are likewise hated and expelled. If one knows no natural cause for an illness or a sudden death, it is regarded as the work of these sorcerers.

XV.

000 Law. -- General remarks. -- Property. -- Sharing the hunting booty. -- Things found. -- Barter. -- Debts. -- Liability. -- Gift. -- Blood friendship. -- Murder and manslaughter. -- Negligent homicide. -- Bodily injury. -- Immoral offenses. -- Theft. -- Inquiry about an unknown culprit. -- Legal procedure. -- Swearing. -- Torture. -- Ordeals. -- Bier test. -- Woman before justice. -- Mentally ill.

671 171 The legal views and legal practices of the Asá in general resemble those of the Masai.[1] We find the same leading ideas everywhere. Here, too, might often comes before right, even if not to the same extent as there.

692 [614] [648] There is nothing new to be said about the rights of families and persons. The sole court in litigation is a respected man chosen by both parties, if plaintiff and defendant belong to the same tribe. Litigation or criminal cases in which plaintiff and defendant belong to two different tribes are not settled by the Wandorobo among themselves, but handed over to the Masai of the nearest kraal for settlement. A prosecution of punishable offenses by legal steps is unknown.

1. [For information on legal views of the Masai, see FL12 Masai, 18:Merker, category 116, pp.279-291--Analyst]

/263 cont./

695 besides the ordeals, the bier test also prevails as a means of convicting the one accused. In contrast to the Masai, here the innocent one accused receives no compensation.

562 694 695 Women may appear as witnesses before the court, but they are not entitled to make a complaint; rather, their husbands make the complaint for them.

672 934 Here, too, the mentally ill occupy an exceptional position in legal matters, /264/ in that they remain unpunished for offenses that are atoned for by fines. They are not chained, but are allowed to go about freely, and, as long as they are harmless, they are given shelter and food. This is denied to the mentally ill who are dangerous, because of which they quickly perish.

XVI.

000 The story of the discovery of arrow poison. -- Other stories and fables.

538 The stories of the Wandorobo describe for the most part their own hunting experiences, especially, of course, those of a peculiar nature and with large, dangerous game. It is probably to be taken for granted that in this "hunter's yarns" also run through them.

The Discovery of Arrow Poison

539 224 278 411 A poor widow, whom no one wanted to take in and feed, roamed steppe and bush daily, in order to appease her hunger miserably with roots, berries, and tree bark. One day she chewed on a small piece of bark that was distinguished by a very bad taste. Soon afterwards vomiting set in so violently that she was sick for a few days. She thought: "I should probably have died if I had eaten any more of it; since I can not hunt game, perhaps I can kill it with this." When she was well again, she went with her pot to the place in the steppe where in a rocky basin there was water to which the wild animals came to drink. Here, for several days in succession, she boiled the wood of the poison bush and kept pouring the liquid into the little pool. Finally one morning she found ten dead buffalo lying in its

/264 cont./

539 224 278 411 vicinity. She ran to the camp in order to fetch men so that they would carry the meat home. When they saw the dead buffalo, they could not understand how it had been possible to kill so many at once. Then the woman told them how she had done it, and now they praised her as the best and cleverest of women and everyone wanted to marry her. After the woman had showed them how to prepare the poison, they made it themselves and smeared their hunting arrows with it.

Some Stories and Fables

539 An ol doroboni shot a giraffe, and since it was evening and he was far from camp, he stayed with the animal during the night. He wanted to stay awake because of the predatory animals that were to be expected, but weariness overcame him. In his dream he saw a lion creeping up. He woke up with a cry of fear. Still half asleep, he took his own leg for the lion and hit it with his knife with all his strength. His campmates, who had set out to look for him, found him with a large wound the next day in the steppe and carried him home.

/265/ An ol doroboni found in the steppe an antelope that he took to be dead. He laid bow and quiver beside the animal and started to skin it. After he had already made two cuts on the belly side, the animal leaped up and ran away with the knife in its body.

A father went hunting every day with his boy. For a long time they were lucky and brought booty home every day. But then there came a time when they did not succeed in killing even a single animal. One day, when they had again stalked in vain, they camped far from their hut in the open steppe. In order to warm themselves, they made a fire. Hunger tormented both of them terribly. Then there came to the old man the idea of killing his son and appeasing his hunger with the corpse. He said to the boy: "Go and fetch firewood so that the fire will be bigger." The boy did as he was told.